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No. 4

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THE FAMILY

The group spirit, rising above the level of a narrow patriotism that regards with hostility all its rivals, recognizing that only through the further development of the collective life of nations can man rise to higher levels than he has yet known, becomes the supreme agent of human progress.

WILLIAM McDUGALL

JUNE
1928



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An announcement of courses will be sent upon request.



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111 East Twenty-second Street
New York*

School of Social Work

Simmons College

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Summer Institutes in:

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Psychiatric Social Work
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- 2a—The Field of Jewish Social Service in the United States MR. KARPF
- 2b—The Wider Aspects of Jewish Communal Work MR. KARPF
- 3a—History of Early Jewish Community Life DR. HONOR
- 3b—Modern Jewish History DR. HONOR
- 4c—Jewish Communal Development in the United States up to 1900 MR. KARPF
- 4d—History of Jewish Social Service in the United States, 1900-1925 MR. WALDMAN
- 5—Aims and Methods of Contemporary Jewish Social Service MR. GOLDSMITH
- 6—Problems and Administration of Jewish Family Case Work Agencies MR. KARPF
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- 8a—Communal Aspects of Jewish Center Work MR. GLUCKSMAN
- 9—Problems and Administration of Jewish Federations DR. HEXTER
- 10—Problems and Administration of Jewish Health Centers and Dispensaries. Lecturer to be announced
- 11d—Yiddish Language and Literature DR. SOLTES
- 13—Problems of Contemporary Jewish Life in America and Abroad A symposium
- 14d—Seminar in Theses Projects MR. KARPF
- Institute 201—Problems and Activities of Jewish Community Centers. Leader to be announced
- Institute 202—Problems and Activities of Jewish Federations. Leader to be announced
- Institute 203—Problems and activities of Jewish Family Case Work Agencies. Leader to be announced
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The New Term and the Summer Quarter Begin July 9, 1928. Write for Summer Announcement to M. J. Karpf, Director.

**THE TRAINING SCHOOL
for JEWISH SOCIAL WORK
71 West 47th St. New York City**

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THE SPIRIT OF SOCIAL WORK¹

JESSIE TAFT

Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania

WHO, in this era of behavioristic psychology, would venture to talk about the "spirit" of anything? Like the obsolete "soul" and the rapidly disappearing terms for unscientific entities such as "instinct" and "will," "spirit" carries with it possibilities of verbalization and sentimentality which are alien to social work in its professional and scientific aspects. "Spirit" is a word which is likely to be meaningless or too meaningful. It is purely verbal or it implies a reference to content and developmental history which only the most intimate knowledge can give. To talk about the spirit of social work is to assume an appreciation of its past as well as a vision of its future, for we want no visions which have not grown out of experience.

Again, when one is beguiled into talking about an apparent abstraction like this, one is in danger of being reminded by the hard-headed or -hearted listener that there "ain't no such animal." Far better talk about spirits of social work—for surely there are as many as there are different regions, cities, and agencies where social work is carried on. Social work is not uniform. Every conceivable point of view and practice is extant

in the country at this moment. Yet, historically, in perspective, a distinctly evolutionary process may be traced which, like any evolution, carries with it into the present samples of all the stages through which it has passed. May we not be justified then in ignoring for the moment the diversities and anachronisms, while we follow what might be called the growing point of social work, that nucleus of thought and technical application which, although slight in proportion to the whole, is most alive, most dominant, most determining of the future?

Sometimes the experience of an individual repeats in curious fashion the slower developmental process of the group. In my own life, the first apprehension of the needs of families less fortunate than my own came as a fear and a personal reproach. What right had any one to safety, while these others faced want? Or, rather, how dare one feel safe when others had found life so treacherous? Here was guilt and obligation to give, to do for others, based largely on fear for personal salvation. As in the beginnings of social work, the poor become a means of grace to the alms-giver, the charitable act a penance and a propitiation. In the words of the old preacher—

Yet cease not to give
Without any regard,
Though the beggars be wicked
Thou shalt have thy reward.

¹ Given at the All-Philadelphia Conference of Social Work, March 8, 1928.



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Well do I remember the torment into which I was thrown by the thought that probably it was my duty to become a missionary. I saw no logical reason why I should be one to escape. Moreover, might one not be held to account in the hereafter if he refused to respond to the call? Relief from this sense of world burden began to dawn with the growing awareness of the unworthiness of the motivation. Since my altruistic ideas were obviously for the good of my own soul, what virtue remained? Comfort came finally in the thought that, after all, whatever the motive, at least the poor family got the benefit of the groceries. That much was real. But even that solution was undermined by relentless logic—which pointed out the futility of one basket of groceries when hunger would inevitably return tomorrow. Thus within the experience of one naïve individual appear the problems of poverty and relief in a fashion not so different from their development historically.

Indiscriminate alms-giving as a means to virtue quickly grew into systematic relief based on some knowledge as to the reality of the needs and the worth of the needy, and this in turn demanded a study of poverty and social conditions, which it was hoped would do away with this constant dropping as into a bottomless pit, this vain digging in sand.

If one goes back to the initial stages of social work in this country, as reflected in the reports of the National Conference, one can see the movement from systematic relief to the causes of poverty, the classification of families and individuals, and finally the discovery that all poverty is different and that poverty is never the only problem. Back of poverty, as an abstraction, is the particular kind of poverty which one family exhibits as over against another, and the unique setting of each family in its particular neighborhood. This in turn implies a difference in approach and treatment in each individual case.

In 1901, Mary E. Richmond, in a National Conference paper, made articulate for the first time the special techniques of the case worker and the concept of the disadvantaged family as a living situation to be planned for concretely in terms of its manifold needs and relationships to the larger social groups

into which it must be integrated more successfully. At this point poverty and relief, as abstractions, cease to represent the growing point of social work. They pass out of the nucleus to the outer edges once for all, despite their practical power to block progress. In their stead appears the dynamic concept of the family as a center of environmental forces which can be used to interpret and to treat the manifold problems which any family group presents.

In the fifteen years which followed Miss Richmond's paper, the fundamental social problems of individual families—sickness, education, housing, recreation, unemployment—began to be worked out through various agencies set up by the city, state, or private sources, so that soon there were organized means for rehabilitating families and individuals as far as could be done through external community resources.

There then emerged for the first time in clear relief the relation of individuals within the family group to the solution of the family problem. There were obviously situations which could not be touched by any external resource, ill health which was determined by the fear or the prejudice of a particular member of the family, fear and prejudice which could not be reached by any logical process or any plan of medical aid. Likewise ignorance, lack of training and education, poor housekeeping and wretched housing, alcoholism and crime were found to be bound up with the problems of personality and to be determined by some inner spring to which access was not yet given.

Miss Richmond again states in 1917, in a Conference paper, the trend which characterizes the growing point of social case work, as (1) skill in discovering the social relationships by which a given personality has been shaped; (2) ability to get at the central core of difficulty in these relationships; and (3) power to utilize the direct action of mind upon mind in these relationships. This movement from the general to the particular, from outer to inner, from the group to the individual, was tremendously accelerated and influenced by a similar development in the allied fields of psychology, psychiatry, criminology, and education, and all were affected profoundly by the war and its revelation of the varying capacities of human beings to

adjust to strain or their different ways of meeting intolerable conditions. Mental hygiene, perhaps more than any other one field, represents a fusion of the essential contributions of all these fields to the re-education of the maladjusted personality. Since the great war, mental hygiene and social case work have advanced side by side in their efforts to gain effective understanding of the forces which form and de-form human personality and behavior.

In the comparatively brief period which has elapsed since Miss Richmond's formulation, there has been an unparalleled intensity of growth in the theory of social case work, which has reverberated to the outermost fringes of practice. The first illuminating discovery in the investigation of the individual was that he was never just "born that way," as we once assumed. Like everything else in a world of cause and effect, he could be explained in terms of his particular history. His personality, his behavior, could be accounted for in large measure because he had acquired them in the course of his lifetime. Then there was added the corollary that not only is behavior acquired, instead of being imposed on us by a fixed heredity, but it is always an effort at adjustment. It serves a purpose to the individual, however bizarre or apparently unprofitable it may seem.

The implications of these two attitudes toward the human being are many, but for social work their importance lies chiefly in three directions. First, they make a scientific toleration of all behavior essential. Criticism, judgmental attitudes, the fixing of blame, prejudice—all must be relegated to the past for they have nothing to do with the objective understanding of complicated patterns whose development must be accounted for in terms of the influences, family and social, to which the individual has responded in his own peculiar ways. Second, they demand an approach to all conduct, however reprehensible socially, from the point of view of the doer. In no other way can one see it as purposive, an effort at adjustment. The only way to help the child who steals or lies, or indulges in sex play, is to cease to try to control the symptoms and to direct attention to the meaning they have for the child, the inner need they satisfy. Third, they suggest that treatment,

a modification of behavior, may be possible in that what has been acquired by a plastic organism may perhaps be altered under conditions calling out quite different responses. For the destructive symptoms, it may be possible to substitute constructive behavior which is equally satisfying and at the same time acceptable to society.

For the last ten years, social work has been working out these new attitudes toward the individual, has been realizing more and more that all social problems are at bottom the inner problems of the human beings involved; that reform, if there be such, must come through inner as well as outer changes. In other words, the growing point of case work has become a developing psychological insight and a struggle to find out how the new understanding may be utilized in concrete treatment.

One effect of this new psychological platform, in its first thrilling release from heredity and its promise of salvation for the individual sinner, reminds me of a story told by a case worker recently.

She had in her care a three-year-old boy, whom she had had to remove from a large family of brothers and sisters and place in a foster home, where he was the only young child. In his own home, Tommy had been almost obliterated by more aggressive and more attractive older and younger ones. He was definitely sullen, unhappy, and shut in. He seldom tried to talk and the responses he did make were unfriendly. In the new home he was given a great deal of attention. He was talked to, played with, and admired without stint, a totally new experience. One day the foster mother held him before a mirror and, pointing to his reflection, asked, "Who's that, Tommy?" The little fellow gazed at himself a moment and then answered, solemnly, "That's a lovely boy!"

Like the loving foster mother, the case worker, in her first enthusiasm over a human psychology which she shares, may create her clients in her own image, or try to find in their problems the solution of her own. In her reaction from the disciplinary and the judgmental, she may identify herself with the person whom she is trying to help so completely that she cannot see his difference, cannot bear his back-sliding, cannot face the possibility that for this particular individual salvation may not be possible. In each client she sees and saves herself. Although, on the side of objective content, this reaction is much more developed, much more complicated than the early naïve desire to save one's soul through charity, psychologically

it works the same way with the focus of attention shifted from the self to the other.

Again there is the more scientific attitude which is expressed in the determination to observe human reactions, to see without emotional bias and record without comment what actually takes place. Another incident reported from a nursery school illustrates some of the snags which beset the path of the pure observer.

A group of graduate students had been assigned to a certain experimental nursery school to learn to observe behavior. Each student was given a particular child to follow from day to day. The children had been patient with their blundering visitors but were getting just a little restive under so much attention. A young woman from New England had had difficulty in remembering her child, and on the second or third morning failed to recognize Anne, aged 4, who was bustling up and down in a new frock. As the young woman stood looking at her doubtfully, Anne (fed up with telling people who she was) piped up irritably, "You're standing on my things." The student had failed to notice the beginnings of a floor game under her feet, and looked at Anne in confusion, but did not move. Anne, whose patience had been tried to the limit, fixed the lady from New England with a relentless eye and said coldly, "You old skunk-egg." Then she departed to her play. The student, hurt and indignant, sought out the teacher and requested that Anne be dealt with as she deserved. "Anne," said the teacher a few minutes later, with gentle reproach, "why were you so rude to Miss B?" "Was I rude?" asked the child in astonishment. "Why, yes, don't you remember, you called her a skunk-egg." "Oh," said Anne thoughtfully, "that was funny, I must have meant a skunk cabbage."

Such is the fate of the observer of human behavior who fails to recognize that he too is part of the situation, that some of the behavior he observes may be a reaction to himself and his own blindness.

If these illustrations show the kind of blunder into which the unwary case worker may fall through her very enthusiasm, they also indicate, in some degree, the nature of the problem with which case work struggles, a problem which is as baffling to science as to our own profession. The academic psychologist has little to offer us in theory and nothing at all to enlighten practice. Like the psychiatrist and the analyst, we deal with the most unknown quantity in the universe—the emotional life of man. To our credit be it said that we have almost lived through the barren period of reliance on knowledge as a motive force.

We know that neither children nor adults

are reasonable beings. They act on motives which can be understood only as their driving power, their emotional value to the individual is appreciated. We have to fathom feelings and impulses of whose nature the owner is unaware because he, like the rest of us, is not given to paying attention to the underlying forces which determine his actions. Within this vast, unexplored region which Watson calls the "unverbalized world of behavior," chiefly made up of the reactions of the vital organs, known to us as impulses, feelings, and emotions, lies the task of social work. Knowledge we require to deal with it, but it must be a knowledge far more vital than any we have yet mastered.

Christian Wahnschaffe, the central figure of Wasserman's *World's Illusion*, is the embodiment of what the rare souls of the past decade have conceived to be the spirit of social work. We could ask for no nobler statement of the faith that was in them than Christian's attempt to explain his life purpose to his father and mother, when he says,

And if this superhuman justice of which men speak and on which they rely does not exist, then the source of that great wrong that is in the world must be within the life of man itself, and we must find that source and know its nature. But you cannot find it by observing life from without; you must be within it, within it to the lowest depths. . . . I wish to perform no works, to accomplish nothing good or useful or great—I want to sink, to steep, to hide, to bury myself in the life of man; I care nothing for myself—I would know nothing of myself—But I would know everything of human beings, for there, you see, are the mystery and the terror, and all that torments and affrights and causes suffering.

In these words, whose emotion meets instant response from the true social worker, we find both the strength and the weakness which have characterized social case work in its psychological development. Like Christian, social work has placed the emphasis where it belongs, on the inner life, but, like Christian too, it has failed to see that the only inner life to which we have access is our own. If we concentrate upon the problems of the other while remaining blind to our own emotional patterning and its ways of seeking expression, our devotion to humanity will be but a means of escape from inner pressure, an unconscious attempt to find in the other person an explanation of ourselves, to work out in him a solution

which in our own case we have failed to accomplish.

The case worker who throws herself into her work, before she knows what that self is, will never be able to distinguish between herself and her client. Yet ability to see the other person as he is, regardless of what we might like, to be able to allow him to work out his life in his own terms, according to his necessity, not ours, is the very essence of case work. Even the case worker who sets up dispassionate observation as her goal will be unable to remove her own needs from situations which she reports, or to prevent their vitiating her findings, unless she too has come to grips with herself and can allow for her own emotional bias because she knows what it is or has freed herself from it.

We started historically with the recognition of the need of the giver to work out his guilt in helping the poor; the realization that the poor were in no way helped took away all satisfaction, and the guilt of the giver remained. The pressure of that guilt has impelled us to work through all the external means of aid, has led us to the recognition of the inner life of the man in trouble and finally on a higher level it has brought us back to the original problem, the self of the giver and its relation to the self of the recipient.

What is the relation of the social case worker to the person he seeks to help? By

what right do we assume such a prerogative? If the other's need is in terms of poverty, the fact that we have the means to relieve it would be the basis of our advantage. If the other's problem is ignorance, then only superior knowledge can justify our rôle as helpers. But if, as we have come to think, the deepest human misery, the inner problems, are common to rich and poor alike, to ignorant and learned, because they arise from the fear and hate and anger for which no relief has yet been found, then our superiority can lie only in the fact that we have begun to understand and accept within ourselves the pain as well as the joy of our own emotional lives, and no longer need to escape from our own fears into the fears of the other. Only if one can bear his own pain, can he make pain tolerable to another; only if one can stand alone, can he believe that the other may be trusted to do the same; only when one's own emotional hunger is partially satisfied, can he be free enough of his own necessity to supply another's need constructively.

The social worker of tomorrow will have to accept the challenge: "Physician, heal thyself." No longer can she hide behind her identification with those for whom she strives. She must admit herself as a vital part of the situation in which she works, and face the responsibility which her helping relation to the other human being forces upon her—the responsibility of herself.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN AUSTRIA

DR. ARTHUR GLASER

Editor, "Soziale Arbeit," Vienna, Austria

WHEN, on November 11, 1918, Charles I, Emperor of Austria, King of Bohemia, King of Hungary, etc., issued a proclamation resigning participation in the government of the Austrian State, the old realm of the Hapsburgs (then geographically known as the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy) was divided into a number of new states. These newborn states hastened to make it known to the whole world that they had no connection with the former monarchy and in no case wanted to be looked upon as its heir. The smallest of these small states, concentrated

around Vienna, together with a few German-speaking provinces, was looked upon as the "Old Maid" (Schwarzer Peter) on whom every wicked thing, but nothing good was conferred. This notion was confirmed when the European world, and especially the former territory of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was divided up by peace-treaties. This orphan boy who survived first called himself Deutsch-Oesterreich (German Austria) but was permitted later only to call himself Austria (not even in the choice of his name had he a free hand); and he has, especially in his social-political legislation,

kept up the connection with the old Austria of the Hapsburgs. The old laws, so far as they were not annulled, were taken over by the new state; or, as the Austrian political scientist Kelsen¹ says, these old Austrian laws were put into force by the new republic.

This social-political legislation, as taken over from Old-Austria, was, through the similarity of its tendencies and its whole machinery, in close connection with Germany. In the former Austria, as well as in Germany, we had health insurance (1888), insurance against accidents to workers (1869-1887), a law on trade inspection, a pension insurance law for private employees (1905), a law for the protection of commercial employees (the basis of the whole present law for employees) 1909, a law for the protection of agricultural employees (1914), a regulation for Sunday and holiday-rest in business life (1895), a law on the restriction of night work by women (1911), and, last but not least, an outdoor and indoor-relief founded on legal domicile (Heimatsrecht).² It is to be noted that in the former Austria, on January 1st, 1918, the ministry for social welfare was established for preparing social-political laws, although there was then no opportunity for introducing social-political legislation in the imperial state.

When we spoke of the poor surviving "orphan-boy" we had good reason. It was a poor and most pitiable creature that had now to behave as a new state. Yet, weak though this creature was, it proved strong in warding off a bolshevist regime. To its right and left in Munich and Budapest, such a reign of terror was at work and it led to serious reaction in Hungary. The policy of the social democratic leaders, although themselves not exempt from errors in these first years of the great social revolution, at any rate prevented the lines of the Russian or Hungarian Bolshevism from being fol-

lowed.³ This resulted in winning the support of the non-socialistic parties in the development of the social legislation and made it possible for social legislation to develop, in spite of the unfavorable economic conditions.

Old Austria, in area comparable to Great Britain, combined all the resources and wealth of soil and industry within its borders though, with the exception of Bohemia, it could never be called a rich country and the population was not wealthy. Bohemia had produced coal, gas, textile goods; Galicia had oil and a well-filled granary. New Austria, deprived of these two provinces, became dependent upon the Alpine territory with its scanty products of the soil. In world politics the little orphan boy was not in high esteem. The consequences were a fantastic depreciation of the Austrian krone, the entire cutting off of the most important means of traffic—coal, and finally frantic hunger for bread. It is comprehensible that in a time of such misery, when the population (in consequence of the food-shortage during the war) was badly reduced in health, public measures had to be considered and an attempt at rescue had to be made by means of legislation. The social democrats not only considered social-political legislation (that is, welfare legislation) but they also proposed drastic financial laws, a property tax, taking over foreign currency, and expropriation of estates (the so-called *Schlossergesetz*)—reforms which were, however, executed only on a very small scale.⁴ This was the time when America credited us with the costs of cereals and when, these credits having been used up, the State was still obliged to sell the flour below cost to its citizens, covering the difference out of its own treasury. This was the time when Vienna and indeed all Austria was forced to send its children to foreign countries, hardly known to the parents with their narrow horizon. This was the time when, in the city or the newly founded beggar state, crowds of children, finally 300,000, were fed with one warm midday meal through Hoover's Relief Commission; till the day

¹ Hans Kelsen: *Oesterreichisches Staatsrecht*. Tübingen, I. C. Mohr, 1923.

² Ludwig Brügel: *Soziale Gesetzgebung in Oesterreich von 1848-1918* (Social legislation in Austria). Franz Deuticke, Vienna, 1919. Dr. Arthur Glaser: *Die Frau in der österr. Wohlfahrtspflege* (The Woman in Austrian Welfare Work). Kopenhagen, I. H. Schultz, A.G. 1910. Dr. Arthur Glaser: "The provision for the poorer classes in Austria," *Charity Organisation Review*, London, May, 1912.

³ Otto Bauer: *Bolshevism or Socialdemocracy*. Wiener Volksbuchhandlung, Vienna, 1921.

⁴ Otto Bauer: *The Austrian Revolution*. Wiener Volksbuchhandlung, Vienna, 1923.

when we read a terrifying proclamation in the streets of Vienna: "Today America is feeding the children of Austria—but tomorrow Austria must feed them herself."⁶ This, moreover, was the time of the war-profiters and the hyenas of inflation whose shameless behavior forced the State to arrange for a more just social agreement by means of legislation.

The New Laws

Although the newly created republic would not and could not be regarded as the heir of the former state, it had to charge itself with indemnifying those of its sons, made invalid through the war, for their reduced capacity for earning; and with providing those who, on their return, found their posts occupied by others, with new possibilities for subsistence. A state with empty safes, a country which hardly produced anything, an economic whole with limited industrial expansion could scarcely provide the means to save invalids and the unemployed from starving. Against war and its consequences no social insurance had existed up to then (the old Austrian Military Regulations were almost no good), and there was no provision for the unemployed. Much as everyone looked forward to peace, this after-war period had been foreseen by all the countries as a very difficult epoch, and in no country was it so problematic as in split-up Austria.

In spite of the serious economic debacle, one of the first provisions made in the new Republic was for the care of the unemployed. Even before the Armistice (November, 1918) the new government, in response to a motion from the State Secretary for Social Welfare, Ferdinand Hanusch,⁷ issued an order concerning the unemployment benefit. According to his proposal, every man returning home who was formerly insured for health and who could not find work adequate to his physical abilities, got an unemployment benefit from the state (which later was supplemented by the municipality). As a result, arrangements had to be made immediately for a labor ex-

change (which became the basis for the unemployment law passed in 1920).

Quite as urgent, however, as the care of the unemployed was the care of invalids. The returning soldiers could not understand and cannot yet understand why their country, for which they had sacrificed so much, should have kept them waiting so long for its thanks; but they could not understand either that the new state was a different power from that which had sent them to war. Hurried endeavors were made to prevent disturbance among those who had suffered great distress, and as early as April, 1919, a law was passed in parliament for a state pension for war invalids, widows, and orphans. In order to claim a pension, an invalidity to the extent of at least 15% (later, in altered regulations, at least 35%) was required. Invalids of 75% were entitled to a full war pension. The widow of a war victim could claim 30% of the full pension. (If she was entirely unable to earn her own livelihood or over 55 years of age, she got 50% of the full war pension.) An unmarried woman who had been living with a man in the same household for one year before he entered service or before his death, was placed on an equality with a legitimate widow. The orphan pension amounts to 20% for the first child, and 15% for every additional child, and for double orphans 30% of the full war pension. No support was given to the wife of an invalid but for each child under his care he got one tenth of his pension. Thus the position of such a family was settled in an extremely inadequate way, for the poor woman had not only to support herself but partly also her husband and children.

The basis for the calculation of the invalid pension was the income of the invalid before he was injured, a social experiment not practiced before. (Those who had no profession before entering the service, such as students and apprentices, were estimated according to what they had been learning.)

The expenses for the care of the invalids were to be defrayed partly from the general property tax, which was then planned and partly from estates of the Hapsburg property. An attempt was also made to give the invalids new possibilities for work through new training.

⁶ Dr. Arthur Glaser: *The Truth about Austria*. King and Son, London, 1920.

⁷ Ferdinand Hanusch; *Der Mann und sein Werk*. "Arbeit und Wirtschaft," Vienna, 1924.

The Austrian Insurance for the Unemployed is the first comprehensive public arrangement in the world. (In England since 1911, only certain trades had been provided with an unemployment benefit from the state.) As mentioned above, the new state had been in a critical situation ever since its birth in November, 1918, and among the dangers that were threatening, unemployment was the most serious.⁷ Directly after the end of the war, the social-democratic State Secretary of the Ministry for Social Welfare, Hanusch, began on the state support of the unemployed; the law itself came into force about a year and a half later. It also is based on the principle of insurance; the costs are defrayed by workers and employers at equal rates. Only such workers have a right to claim it who (1) during the previous 12 months have had a post for a total of 20 weeks with obligatory insurance, and (2) in spite of physical fitness cannot find adequate work. Unemployed persons who have other means of livelihood and those who have not yet reached their sixteenth year may be excluded from drawing the dole. Servants, agricultural workers, and foresters are not entitled to the benefit and apprentices are eligible only at the beginning of the last year of their apprenticeship. Claim for the benefit can be made one week after the beginning of unemployment. The benefit is given within the twelve months following, for a maximum period of thirty weeks, if the conditions of the labor market for the trade in question are very-unfavorable and the unemployed person is willing but unable to work; otherwise for twelve weeks only. Occasional help in case of great need may be given by the industrial commission of the ward, after thirty weeks of the unemployment dole. During the time when the unemployed receives the fee, he is obliged to accept adequately paid work when it is offered to him through the office for the unemployed, provided he is physically fit and able to do it. The Labor Exchange Bureau serves to prevent the misuse of the law. For those who have to support a family, the unemployment benefit amounts

⁷ *Soziale Arbeit*, 1920, No. 5/6: Dr. Eugen Spaun: "Die Entwicklung der Arbeitslosenversicherung in der Republik Oesterreich."

to the legal minimum of the daily amount of the health insurance benefit (calculated by the last employment); for other unemployed, to 75% of this amount. The benefit (which differs according to the class of wages) varies from 2.10 to 2.90 Austrian schillings daily, according to family responsibilities. At any rate, the weekly unemployment benefit must not be more than 80% of the weekly salary which the unemployed drew in his last post with obligatory insurance. The management of the whole institution for the unemployed lies in the hands of the Industrial Commission of the Wards, composed of an equal number of representatives of workers and of employers.

Great pains were also taken in arranging for the retraining of the unemployed (in Vienna in connection with a psychotechnical institute⁸). Some endeavors have also been made to meet unemployment by supplying work (*Erwerbsfürsorge*), in which case the state would give certain amounts to the provinces and municipalities for building roads, for drainage, etc.⁹

At the time of the Revolution in Austria the Law of Industrial Councils was passed (May 15, 1919) and, by those who had proposed it, it was meant as a Magna Charta for workers and employees. As a matter of fact it is a kind of "constitutional law" of the workers, though at present it is not practiced as it was originally intended. The Industrial Councils (*Betriebsräte*) for workers and employees are elected in every factory or trade with at least 20 permanent workers or employees, and they are for the care and furthering of the economic, social, and cultural interests of the workers and employees in the business. It was intended to arrange for a "democratic" or so-called "constitutional" factory and to provide for the worker's right to a share in the management as well as his duty to work his hardest to

⁸ Regarding the text of the law and its explanation see Leder-Suchanek: Regulations for work, Protection of workers, Care for unemployed. Oesterreichische Staatsdruckerei, 1927. In December, 1927, there were in the whole of Austria 207,120 supported unemployed; in Vienna alone, 84,806. For comparison we quote the number of inhabitants at the census of population in 1923: Austria, 6,526,661; Vienna alone, 1,865,780.

⁹ Up to Nov. 30, 1927, 21,666 lodgings for working-class people have been built by the Municipality of Vienna (in 4 years) and 8,334 were started but not finished.

promote the interests of the business. The idea of working together through the common interest of both groups had till now not been realized. Neither group, least of all the employer, was yet far enough advanced to accept this idea.

The industrial councils for factory workers are still maintained, to a greater degree than those for the trade employees, but the fundamental idea of the "constitutional" factory has not yet been realized in any business, and principles such as have been carried out in the United States, where workers are sharing in the business or holding shares, are not likely to be applied.¹⁰

Another law was introduced establishing Trade Boards (*Einigungsämter*) and collective contracts for workers (Dec. 18, 1919). These Trade Boards—as was pointed out in the bill—were supposed to be a means for securing social understanding in business, and to arrange for collective working-contracts. The chief aim of the Trade Board is, however, to interfere in case of controversies in connection with the regulations in the law for industrial councils. Also, in case of strike, application has to be made to the Trade Boards.

One of the most important achievements in the first year of the Republic is the Holiday Law for workers (July 30, 1919), an arrangement for a legal and paid holiday of one or two weeks (one week after at least one year's employment in a business, two weeks after 5 years in the same business; juveniles are entitled to two weeks after the first year of employment). This law was passed when it became apparent that provision had to be made for guaranteeing a short holiday to the undernourished population. In 1918 the 8-hour day was provisionally introduced (for women and juveniles 44 hours a week) and on December 18, 1919, a law was passed to this effect. State Secretary Hanusch first very carefully tried a provisional statute in order to learn about the experiences of other states. In spite of this, the law met with strong opposition from the employers. Germany, where it had

also already been introduced, nearly annulled it after some time. Austrian employers thought that the population of this poor country should work more instead of less. But the workers themselves had little sympathy with this point of view and they were not physically fit after these very miserable years.

Additions have also been made to the law for employees (May 11, 1921) arranging for financial claims in case of dismissal without reason (amounting to 12 times the monthly salary after 25 years of service, proportionally less for shorter times of service), a law which is of great importance for the employees, but also a great burden to production. The same law for employees contains a regulation according to which expectant mothers are not allowed to work during six weeks after their confinement, but are entitled to their normal wages during that time. Expectant mothers and women in child-bed have to be given financial support amounting to the maximum of the ordinary sick benefit during the time that they are not working, that is, 6 weeks before and 6 weeks after their confinement ("mother-support," according to the revised law for health insurance).

In the two laws on insurance of employees and insurance of workers, Austria has finished the work on social insurance which had been started in the former monarchy. The law of December 29, 1926, combines all branches of insurance for employees and provides for people doing chiefly commercial or non-commercial work of a high grade or office work. Quite recent is the extension of insurance against accidents to office employees (until now only for industrial workers). Pension insurance, which had existed before, has been greatly improved. The cost of the insurance fees is divided equally between the employer and the employee.

The law for insurance of workers (April, 1927) represents a still greater accomplishment, for which workers have striven for centuries. Unfortunately, one of its most important parts—old age insurance—is not yet in force. Only "interim" care for old age has been settled. A sixty-year-old worker, out of work, is entitled at the present time to a monthly pension equal to

¹⁰ Glaser: *The Truth about Austria*, op. cit. "Industrial Councils in Austria," *The Charity Organisation Review*, May, 1921. Prof. Dr. Emil Adler: *Das Betriebsrätegesetz* (Law for Industrial Councils). Wiener Volksbuchhandlung, Vienna, 1922.

only twenty times the daily unemployment dole. Not until improvements are really recognizable in the economic conditions in Austria (by reducing the number of unemployed to 100,000 and increasing exports and agricultural production) will the legal pension for old age be fully effective. The insurance law for workers determines insurance for health, accidents, and unemployment for workers and for invalids (special provision has been made for agricultural workers, foresters, and railway employees) and the insurance fees as well as the payments are settled according to the wage class in which the worker is grouped. In the insurance against accidents, contained in the insurance law for workers, occupational diseases have now been included for the first time. Entirely new are the regulations for insurance of invalid workers. General and executive committees of insurance companies consist of four fifths insured workers and one fifth employers, whereas in the control committee the proportions are reversed.

Another social law is the 'Tenants' Protection Act (*Mieterschutzgesetz*) of December 7, 1922. Even in the time of the old Monarchy in 1917 restrictions had been made as to the giving of notice and the raising of rents. These restrictions were partly taken over by the new law of 1922 but were somewhat modified by allowing the landlord to charge the expenditures for the repairs of the house to the tenants of flats and shops. Austria, like all the central European states, faced with the almost complete impossibility of building houses by private means, was forced to protect the population from becoming homeless. However, later modifications of the Tenants' Protection Act became most difficult and this question has become a point in the electoral program of the different parties. The representatives of the working class say that, with the present economic conditions, the low wage tenant cannot be expected to pay a higher rent.

All laws created to meet the criminality of juveniles, which had greatly increased after the Great War, had also to be considered from a social point of view. The law establishing separate juvenile courts, January 25, 1919; the law regarding the care of foster-children and illegitimate children, April 1, 1919; the penal law on the condi-

tional sentence (conditional abolition of punishment), July 23, 1920, which was especially for the benefit of the juveniles; the law of July 7, 1922, on probation for juveniles (unfortunately only till the 16th year); and the law on the regulations for legal support, February 4, 1925, are all classified as juvenile.

Family Case Work

The fact that social legislation in Austria is more advanced than case work is the result of the peculiar conditions of this country before and after the great war. Even before the war Vienna had poor housing conditions which produced many serious conditions in the poorer families. The working class in Austria has always been poorly paid and still is, in spite of the influence of the trade unions. If baskets containing equal quantities of food were put before an American and a Viennese worker, the American might get four baskets for his wages, whereas the Viennese would get only one.¹¹

Undoubtedly the economic conditions of a country influence the tendencies of its social work. The lack of financial support in Austria makes the development of social case work a difficult matter, but there is an appreciation of what social case work can do, not only in improving individual situations but in contributing to a greater sense of group responsibility and through that to the improvement of conditions. The provisions of social legislation already in force give the individual a sense of security, and should be an asset in case work.

Partly following the general principle of collectivism of the labor party, we have preferred here to meet by legal claims the crises of life of the individual caused either by a defect in health, economy, or education. By these legal means, which can easily be explained by the public or welfare worker to those who are entitled to help, an attempt has been made to alleviate the misery. The social worker, however, knows that a bulwark against poverty, such as is represented by the Austrian laws for social insurance, cannot prevent all human distress. Many people cannot become adjusted to their en-

¹¹ Walter Schiff: *Die Höhe des Reallohnes in Wien* (The Height of Subsistence in Vienna). Special number of Statistical Information of the Municipality of Vienna, 1927.

vironment and there is an ever-increasing demand on the capabilities of the welfare worker to recognize the special needs and possibilities of each individual and to give proper advice. Case work, the social diagnosis which serves for this purpose, is felt with us to be a method for discovering the seat of a disease and for ordering the right treatment. This is one aim of family case work. The second is the cure, the means to social recovery, which should be achieved by welfare work in the family, by attempting to set right the constitutional defects of the whole family and to make it strong and self-supporting in the social community. This involves advice as to what is to be done for unemployment of the father, the poor health of the mother, the educational needs of the daughter.

Of the aims of case work,¹² social diagnosis is perhaps the only one which has found great development in our work, especially in the private organizations.¹³ Although these organizations are no longer as important in the large towns, Vienna, Graz, and Linz, as in former times and are not to be compared with the present private welfare work in America, they have helped to prepare by their methods of family case work for the hygienic, industrial, or educational lines of social legislation. There are now trained social workers in private welfare work (we have in Vienna one public and two private social work training schools for women) but sociology and psychology are at present not practiced by the welfare worker as we feel they should be in future. Much still stands in the way: the work of the professional case worker is not much appreciated and in the city of Vienna, the number of families entrusted to the care of the case worker is disproportionately high. The result is that the case worker becomes often only an investigator, and has hardly time and interest to enter into the life conditions of a family and to become their friend and adviser. It must always be remembered that, since the revolution, there

has been a tendency to make case work, so far as possible, part of the municipal work of the city, and to suppress private welfare work more and more. For instance a special welfare tax was placed on employers by the municipalities (*Fürsorgeabgabe*). This endeavor of the city governments results in the development of case work on a broad line rather than a deep one, and can be noticed, not only in Vienna but also in Graz (Styria).¹⁴

When, in the larger towns of Austria, family case work began to crystallize around infant welfare work, the infant welfare worker became a family case worker for, in order to find out the real cause of the defects of the child under her care, she had to take the whole family into consideration. In family case work the activity of this welfare worker, as concerns her sphere of action, is at present limited to the care of children and of expectant mothers and young mothers. A welcome addition to the family case work activities are the conferences in the confidential exchange (*Wiener Fürsorgenachweis*), organized in 1922, where once a month the welfare workers of one district confer about difficult cases with the case workers of the private and public welfare institutions. In this way more effective family case work is furthered, since by means of the confidential exchange decision is made as to which organization has to take care of the family in the future. The number of these selected cases is of course limited.

Besides infant welfare work, public welfare work would have ample opportunity to apply the principle of family case work in those cases where relief is given under the provisions of the poor law. The helpers in the department for the poor are only voluntary workers. In Vienna they receive a few weeks' instruction but they are not trained family case workers. In cases where the guardian of the department for the poor gives financial help for the children to alleviate the need of the family, it is possible to start some kind of family case work as, according to the instructions, the case worker has to be notified of the case.

Another public institution which is doing

¹² On the purpose and aim of family case work see the excellent book of a German writer, Dr. Marie Baum: *Familien Fürsorge*. G. Braun, Karlsruhe, 1927.

¹³ See report on the administration of the Verein gegen Verarmung in Vienna. *Soziale Arbeit*, Vienna.

¹⁴ *Ten years infant welfare work of the municipality of Graz*. Städt. Jugendamt Graz, 1927.

family case work is the juvenile court aid. The case workers engaged by the juvenile court (an exemplary and conscientious organization in Vienna) for making investigations have, especially by their close co-operation with private institutions, developed family case work and although they have chiefly the interests of the juvenile in mind, they work for the improvement of the conditions of the whole family.¹⁵

In the country, slow beginnings of family case work may be noticed in the activity of

¹⁵ Report on the work of the Juvenile Court in Vienna.

the infant welfare stations and also in the poor departments of the wards (especially in Lower Austria and Styria).

The private welfare institutions, especially in Vienna, have in some large organizations such as the Verein gegen Verarmung (which corresponds to the Charity Organization Society in New York), the Vienna Settlement, and Oesterreichische Nächstenhilfe, attempted to develop intensive family case work according to American principles, but their efforts are handicapped by the great number of needy cases and quality is often sacrificed to quantity.

CHILD PLACING

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DURING the war and the post-war period, Switzerland accepted the task of caring for thousands of children whose physical development, injured through years of undernourishment and neglect, would benefit by invigorating mountain air and abundant, healthful food. Both funds and accommodations were insufficient to provide for this host of young visitors in existing children's institutions or vacation homes. Driven by necessity to find some other solution of the problem, the plan of care in private families was adopted. On every side hospitable doors were opened wide. In country and town, people competed for the right to take in these youngsters, even where extreme undernourishment had produced conditions difficult to deal with. Thousands of children of every age found loving care; at that moment the impulse towards child protection was at high tide.

Like other movements, this enthusiastic acceptance of loving responsibility for one's neighbor did not last long. As the storms of war and the misery of inflation gave way to more normal conditions, the mood for courageous sacrifice largely abated; the economic crisis following the war—which did not halt at the frontiers of Switzerland—also contributed to the falling off of this spirit of joyful sacrifice. Today, ten years after the declaration of peace, one finds few

traces of the enthusiasm born of the hardest years and one appreciates all the more the fact that a relatively larger number of families open their doors each summer to children in need of a holiday. Whereas in earlier years this help was made available to children from foreign and often distant countries, whose advent was touched with romance, today this care is offered to needy children of Switzerland itself, of whom there are still many. Thus, gradually and without agitation, as one of the many legacies of the war, a new institution has grown up. It is a blessing to many children from the industrial districts of the country, for the majority of whom no other holiday opportunity has yet been organized. The great majority of homes give this care without receiving any financial compensation.

During 1927, the society Pro Juventute alone placed 3,000 children; and a considerable number of foreign children were placed through the efforts of other welfare organizations.

In order to understand the methods practiced by us in carrying out this program, it is necessary to explain briefly certain living conditions, especially among the rural population. In contrast to most other countries, our agriculture is still organized on the basis of small units; the majority of farmers do not have more than two hired laborers. Most of the work is performed by members of

the family, which results in an almost patriarchal form of family life; the farm hands take part in the communal life and share its interests. When a new member enters this little community he finds himself from the first day in a strongly united group to whose habits of work and amusement he must adapt himself. Further on we will indicate the valuable influence which this may have on a child coming from an urban family, where unity has shrunk to the convenience of eating and sleeping together.

Another point important to make clear in order that our work may be understood is the far reaching autonomy of our Swiss national school system. The law controlling the school system is limited to one laconic statement in our Constitution; legislation in this whole matter is the responsibility of the 25 cantons, of which each one has its own administrative system, its own parliament, and its own taxation. Even within this decentralized system, each district or township has far-reaching administrative powers, which are especially effective in the school system. For instance each township determines the dates for school holidays, a point most important for our welfare program.

Our organization must adapt itself to the conditions sketched above. The feeling of independence deeply anchored in the consciousness of our people is recognized in the far-reaching decentralization of our program of care for the school children. In practically every township, Pro Juventute has a local representative; moreover someone is chosen in every district to look after the welfare work for the school children. It is the responsibility of the central office to maintain connection between the local representatives, to facilitate communication between the different districts, to aid the local workers in solving difficult problems, and to educate the public as to the special needs of school children. Through publicity in the newspapers, appeals, letters, and even calling on individuals, an effort is made each spring by both local and central offices to find holiday homes for the children. It goes without saying that it is the rural population—and especially those living in mountain districts—who come under consideration. Not only local representatives of Pro

Juventute but pastors and teachers are asked for detailed information regarding the families who offer to accept children. This is done in order to avoid mistakes as far as possible, but it should not be concealed that, in spite of all the care taken, mistakes sometimes occur.

At a certain time each year, the children are selected for placement. Here the procedure is not to accept every child that applies but to leave to local representatives—who are, after all, familiar with every family in the community—the task of choosing the children who in their opinion are especially in need of a change of environment. This list is sent to the district representative of Pro Juventute. With the help of a specially appointed physician each case is then discussed, in order to determine which type of care will be most beneficial. Children in need of special care or suffering some physical deformity are sent to sanatoria or to some health resort. Children who show strain due to too heavy work at school are assigned to holiday camps. Those whose state of health is due to malnutrition or unfortunate home conditions—and these are the majority of our cases—are, if there is no evidence of pronounced abnormality, proposed for family placement.

In assigning the children to the available homes, an effort is made to give consideration to each individual case. As not less than four different languages are in current use in Switzerland, the language question is one determining factor. It is natural that a child from French Switzerland should not be placed in a German Swiss family, although exceptions are and should sometimes be made on this point. No exceptions are allowed in respect to church membership; here the basic policy prevails that a child must be placed with a family belonging to the same religious group.

On the other hand, the organization reserves the liberty to choose the locality where the child is to live; on this point only the welfare of the child is considered. The wish of parents to have the child in a certain neighborhood cannot be met. In fact an effort is made to place a child at a distance from his family, as experience has shown that the visits of relatives usually have an

unfavorable effect and retard the child's adjustment.

The period for which a child is placed depends on the length of his holidays, but is usually 4 to 8 weeks in spring and 3 to 4 weeks in the autumn. It often happens, however, that the children remain for months and, where their own family's situation makes it seem desirable, they may stay in the foster home for years, attending the local school.

The journey is generally undertaken by the child alone, although children going to the summer colonies are usually organized into groups, accompanied by a teacher or one of the staff of the organization. Each child wears a placard on which his destination and train schedule are marked. Where it is necessary to change trains, a representative of the organization is on hand to assist. At the place of destination he is usually received by a representative of the organization who introduces him to the family and keeps an eye on him during his visit, and is ready to mediate or to offer a solution in case difficulties occur. Thus the child has the impression that, even in "foreign lands," he is under benevolent supervision, thus increasing his ability to adjust himself to the new conditions. It is usually the simple peasant families who offer to take these needy children and to share with them their simple country fare. It is therefore not practical to make many demands respecting care and nourishment, especially as these are usually free homes. The only conditions which we make are that the child shall be treated as if he were their own, that he shall sleep alone in a clean bed, and that he shall not be given any alcoholic drinks. Beyond this we can trust the really noble point of view of the better class of peasants, who consider it a point of honor that the appearance of any child confided to them shall show on his return that he lacked nothing.

The objection may be made that care in a well-organized institution would be preferable to the plan described above, and we do not wish to contradict this; we would only point to a number of advantages which family care offers and which cannot be denied. Even the intimate contact with the practical realities of the farmer's life, the insight into his joys and anxieties and into his point of

view have both ethical and practical value for our city children. The small chores which the young holiday guests in the great majority of cases perform with pleasure must not be undervalued. For a city child it is a significant experience to discover that from now on he is no longer a useless and sometimes inconvenient member of society but that, as an accepted member of his foster home, he can render a number of small services each day without cutting short the time allowed for play and recreation. As he sees here each member of the family ready to help the other, he may get a new light on the strong unity of a family in which work is co-operatively performed—a unity which, alas, is rarely to be seen in his own home. And as even the undeveloped strength of his young limbs is able to contribute something to the common welfare, he is spared the humiliating feeling of being nothing more than the recipient of unearned benevolence. Often during these holiday visits in the country, ties are established which last for years or even for the child's lifetime. It often happens that a child is invited by the same family year after year and later is apprenticed to them. These connections are precious for children from poor industrial districts, where there is often little room for them.

It is far from our purpose to try to idealize the conditions among our rural population or to close our eyes to the shadows in the picture. We know how often foster children are neglected and are forced to heavy labor. But it is our experience that this happens less frequently to the young holiday visitors than to the children more permanently placed. A careful and strict selection at both ends and conscientious supervision by some one in the vicinity are the best means to reduce failures to a minimum. That our child-placing work is not always successful in spite of our best efforts is not evidence against the system; it can only stimulate us to more careful measures in each individual case. In every larger village there is apt to be some representative of the group of teachers, pastors, and social workers who co-operates with us and who guarantees that, given certain local conditions, the greatest effort is made to get good results.

The experience of ten years in placing

children for the holidays has recently given our organization the courage to undertake the permanent placement of children who are either physically or morally endangered, with specially qualified families. The experiment is being used especially in the fight against vagrancy. For in Switzerland there are still hundreds of families who exist without a definite domicile, who with their few possessions wander about throughout the year getting a subsistence by begging, peddling, or by mending all sorts of household utensils. Their numerous children escape the schools in spite of all the existing regulations, because they are here tomorrow and far away the next day. Their development under such circumstances is easy to imagine; drunkenness, laziness, and criminality are the order of the day and in this path each generation outstrips the preceding one. Until now the communities and cantons have shown themselves helpless to deal with the sorrowful condition of these vagabond families, partly perhaps because public opinion had no conviction that it might be possible to improve the situation. Although dozens of these children have been placed in institutions, yet perhaps because just at the critical age—that is, when they have finished school—they are dismissed from the severe institutional discipline, the results have been most discouraging.

Pro Juventute is now attempting to bring back to a normal life as large a number of these children as possible by removing them altogether from the influence of their parents and placing them for long periods in the care of decent families. Here it is arranged for them to attend the public schools and to learn a trade. This experiment has not yet lasted long enough to make conclusions possible, but at least we have found that, whereas the children committed to institutions are continually trying to run away, those placed in families (with very rare exceptions) like their new surroundings, become fond of their foster parents, and, in return for the sacrifices made by them, later show a spontaneous gratitude and affection.

The feeling of having a home which they had lacked and which even the best administered institution can hardly provide is now awakened. They become aware of the advantages of a modest, settled existence, and these are surely the best conditions for successful education.

Summarizing: we think we may claim that placement in strongly united families offers a happy solution for children who have been taken from surroundings which were either morally or physically handicapping, provided however that great attention is paid both in selection and later supervision of the needs of the child. No other type of care requires such a degree of attention, of tact, and of consideration for the individuality of the child and of the foster home.

A TRAINING SCHOOL FOR INSTITUTION EXECUTIVES

THE National Training School for Institution Executives and Other Workers, the only school in the country offering training for positions in the Institution Field, is holding a summer institute from July 21st to August 17th, 1928. This intensive course will be for the particular benefit of those already engaged in institution work who desire to obtain practical and theoretic training. The program will include lectures, readings, visits to institutions, courts, and welfare organizations. The policy of the National Training School is to meet the individual needs of every student in so far as possible, and to furnish practical experience in correlation with the study of theory. It is further the purpose of the School to inspire each entrant with the unlimited responsibilities and opportunities awaiting him in the broad field of child welfare and to show him the stirring challenge of service in the child care and institution field.

Leon C. Faulkner, Managing Director, The Children's Village, Dobbs Ferry, New York, will be glad to answer inquiries as to details, qualifications for admission, fees and so on.

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EDITORIAL

THE workers in England, Switzerland, Austria, and Hungary who have been good enough to write for us this month out of their experience are contributing something new and vital to the body of knowledge of social case work. We here in America need to know more about what they are doing, not merely through the written and spoken word, but through an active participation in their problems.

The International Conference of Social Work will undoubtedly promote a more adequate sharing of experience among social workers of different countries. It may even be possible to work out some plan for the exchange of case records as well as to bring about a wider reading in this country of European books on social work and the material printed in such magazines as *Freie Wohlfahrtspflege*, *Pro Juventute*, *Soziale Arbeit*, the *Charity Organisation Review*, and so on. The opportunity to meet together will bring out many points which great distances and reliance upon the written word often obliterate. For in this day of easy communication we are frequently less aware of one another's thoughts and activities than in the days when we had to depend upon

less frequent but more leisurely means of intercourse.

After all, the most effective method of learning from others is through actually sharing in doing. L. P. Jacks, speaking of our modern mania for travel, says:

Of old the traveller set forth on his toilsome journey from other motives: to learn a craft or to teach one, to hear a teacher or to teach; . . . did something significant in the place he arrived at; gathered wisdom as he passed on his way and left it behind him; then came back a wiser man. By travellers such as these were the arts disseminated, the learning spread, the religions taught which have civilized the world.

In the arts, in medicine we have long practiced the method of which Jacks speaks. Modern industrial plants send their workers to other countries, not merely to observe but to "learn by doing." They make nothing of the barriers of national boundaries and differences in language. We accept with appreciation the students from Europe who come to study in our schools of social work or to do practical work in our agencies, but this is a bit one-sided, even though we recognize the truth that "those who go out to teach come back taught." Might it not be possible to effect an actual exchange of workers between agencies in America and those in Europe? Language difficulties, the handicap of unfamiliar conditions could surely be overcome if there were an appreciation of the mutual benefits which would accrue from some such plan. It would promote that international (or perhaps we should say "non-national") thinking which is certainly nowhere more necessary than in social work.

WE are deeply appreciative of the assistance given by Miss Mary Hurlbutt of the International Migration Service in the preparation of this issue of THE FAMILY, for to her efforts we owe the four papers descriptive of different phases of case work in Europe. Since gratitude, someone has said, is an active sense of favors to come, it seems fitting that we should combine with our thanks the hope that Miss Hurlbutt will help us to get more such material in the future.

NOTE: We regret that, through lack of time, we have been unable to submit proofs of these articles to their authors, and errors due to editorial changes may have crept in. If so, acknowledgment will be made in a later issue.

CASE WORK IN HUNGARY

ROSSI VAJKAI AND MRS. GULIA EVA VAJKAI

Save-the-Children Fund

THE situation in Hungary at the present moment recognizes fully the necessity of organized public assistance, without an adequate organization to carry it out. The need is there, the state realizes its responsibility more than it did before the war, but so far the government has had to put its energy into getting back to pre-war conditions. New industries, new roads and railway lines, new schools and welfare centers have had to be created. It will be a long time before the state can mobilize its resources so as to establish and maintain that network of social workers which alone can meet by means of case work the demands for effective care of its poverty-stricken and socially maladjusted groups.

In the meantime, the situation is being met in so far as possible by the nursing service, clinics, kindergartens, schools, and similar agencies. The slums of Budapest with thousands of penniless refugees present graver problems than similar districts in Western Europe. Case work is essential and the teachers, nurses, and relief workers responsible for the distribution of food and clothing make every effort to do a thorough case work job—investigating, establishing contacts, and following up on treatment.

The examples which follow are taken from our own restricted sphere of activities—the trade schools which were established by the British Save-the-Children Fund, the kindergartens maintained partly by the Papal Nuncio, partly by the International Union of Save-the-Children Fund and the photo-card adoption system of the latter. These activities are financed by foreign donations but are run entirely by Hungarian workers; and under whatever institution—the Red Cross, the Junior Red Cross, the Child Protection League, the Stephanie Association for the Care of Babies, the settlements, the visiting teachers, or any religious association—the same kind of work will be found, carried on in the same spirit.

Picture a kindergarten in the slums. Dirty women in rags bring their often hungry children. The kindergarten not only pro-

vides food for a nominal fee, but handkerchiefs, aprons, even linen and clothing, in order to give a civilized appearance to its small wards. Yet all our efforts are vain if, as soon as they go back to the care of their mother, the children fall into filthiness. The teacher in charge has investigated the home of each child; she tries to establish a contact between the parents and the kindergarten. It is to be expected that the parents will help in dealing with the child, and often the child influences the family and becomes a means of arresting its decadence.

Thus in the case of Gizi E: Her father had died of tuberculosis, her mother was a drunkard, who neglected completely her three small children. They lived in a poultry-shed, where a small stove, straw, some torn blankets and a few pots composed the furniture. Gizi, the eldest child, nine years old, far past kindergarten age, had never been to school. The baby was not yet two. We admitted all three, and fed them up. Gizi was taught the alphabet in the afternoons while the others slept. Then we tried through her to reach her mother. She was encouraged to clean the shed. We procured some furniture. This impressed the mother; a flicker of human dignity pierced through the alcoholic vapor. She tried to find work. We compelled her to see us weekly. Slowly we got her so far as to be sober at least on week-days. Meanwhile Gizi passed school-age and left us. The moral support thus having ceased, both girl and mother began to deteriorate. We found Gizi running the streets with the pretext of selling toys. A free luncheon was offered her at the kindergarten, until we succeeded in finding a suitable place for her. There she behaves to satisfaction. When the second child had to be passed on to school, we took it on under our adoption plan,¹ so as to keep control over the family, which might be regarded as partially readjusted to social life.

The S family lived in a cellar. The parents had never been married. We received three of the eight children into the kindergarten. We procured better lodgings and persuaded the parents to marry and have the children legitimized.

We found the E's, a mother with two small children, in miserable circumstances. The father was in prison. The elder boy—five years old—was already seriously contaminated by bad surroundings. We succeeded in gaining the confidence of the mother, who followed our advice and helped in readjusting the child. She was an eager guest at our Parents' Meetings. On one occasion when we were speaking of the effect of bad example on

¹ The adoption plan, so-called, consists of a food parcel given fortnightly to insure proper nourishment for a child.

the children's minds, we noticed a man of extremely rough appearance showing signs of great excitement. We changed the subject at once. Afterwards we learned that the man was Mr. E, released from prison and accompanying his wife "to see into what idiotic dealings she has let herself be drawn" during his absence.

We arranged another meeting and, to attract him, gave his children prominent parts in the little performances with which we lure the parents to these meetings. He came. We talked to him. He returned. We helped him to find work. When later his children were of age to leave the kindergarten, he made us give him a written promise that a place would be made free in two years' time for his new-born baby.

The influence of the kindergarten shows itself most in the health and cleanliness in the families of our wards. Everything connected with cleanliness—washing hands, cleaning teeth and nails, polishing boots, brushing clothes—are great events in the kindergarten. Play and work are connected with them, rewards and distinction may be attained through them. Naturally the children wish to go on in their own homes with these exciting and amusing processes. By flattery or crying, by all the means in possession of the small tyrants that children are, they try to compel their mothers to submit to their desire. Thus Rozzi said one morning, "I have told Mummy that she makes me be ashamed with my dirty nails at the morning-visit and that we must have a nail-brush, but she said that I must wait until she has paid the rent."

We have much trouble in compelling the mothers to wash and mend the children's clothing, but we cannot rest until it is achieved, because this struggle to have the child kept clean by the mother is more significant than it might seem. Those who have done emergency work know that gifts are not everything. Clothes, distributed by relief committees, were often sold on the following day to procure drink or permit parents to live in idleness. With grants alone it is impossible to combat the most appalling effect of misery—the complete apathy which threatens women even more than men, because it is their share to undertake, day after day, without any hope of success, to feed six and more people with a salary scarcely sufficient for two. The time comes when, exhausted and hopeless, the woman will let things go with passive indifference, loathing the smallest effort, as everything seems useless. It is then that her home becomes the

real slum-abode. She can be helped only by stirring up that last spark of dignity which might have remained under the ashes of despair. We give her the most necessary garments, but compel her to keep her child clean. This clean child will emphasize the filthiness of its surroundings. Associations of the past days will gradually lead the mother to scrub the floor and wash the windows. When she has taken up the needle to mend the small trousers, she will perhaps go on patching her own frock. At a parents' meeting she will feel proud of her child's appearance. This pride may restore her self-respect. In this way we are often able to arrest the deterioration of the family, at least in so far as the mother's influence is concerned.

We have in our possession a letter written by a nurse in a hospital at the request of the dying father of a pupil, in which he implores us to admit his baby, though not yet of age, or he will not die in peace.

By informal and unofficial collaboration the welfare agencies make up for the lack of an adequate central organization.

For instance, the tuberculosis dispensary recommended a child for our adoption-plan. The mother and the so-called father made an extremely bad impression, and we did not content ourselves with delivering the food-parcel but followed up the case. This was difficult enough, as they moved frequently. We found them a room several times. We found work for them but all in vain. We saw at last that the bigger girl, aged 12, had to be separated from her mother, or she would be utterly demoralized. We assured her a place in the Lord Weardale Home (for maladjusted children, under the auspices of the British Save-the-Children Fund) and had the mother deprived of her rights. The child remained two years in the Home, then worked six months in a factory in a small town, out of reach of her mother. There is no complaint against her.

In this case, through friendly co-operation of three different agencies, at least one member of a completely demoralized family seems to have been adjusted to social life.

We have in our work evidence enough that a kindergarten may through the child reach the whole family and replace to some extent organized case work. Far more difficult do we find it to reach the family through the trade school, which receives only children beyond school age. Parents as a rule only recognize their obligation to their children as long as the community does. Once the law permits the children to go to

work the parents will only grudgingly assent to their going to trade school, provided that this demands no further sacrifice on their part. They are not interested in the conditions of the place where their children pass their days. Though the teacher investigates the home of every pupil and calls again if there is some reason, it is impossible to establish such direct contact with the parents as in the kindergarten, because there are few opportunities to meet them. With larger staffs able to assume more responsibility, the trade schools might however be able to accomplish a good deal with the individual pupils and their families.

We have several illustrations which prove this. Erzsebet entered trade school at the age of 12. She was nervous and low-spirited. One day a dishevelled, drunken woman slouched into the class, screaming and cursing. Before anybody could interfere, Erzsebet, deadly pale, threw herself upon her and pushed her out. The teacher found them fighting in the street. She separated them and carried the girl indoors, where she broke down sobbing. Then she told the teacher the appalling details of her life. The woman was her mother, she despised her. Her father though not married to the mother lived with them and had taken to drinking. There was never any warm food cooked at their house.

Erzsebet was persuaded by the teacher to try with her mother by tenderness and patience. Often she was sent home in the forenoon to prepare a warm meal for her. The members of the Junior Red Cross group in the class were willing to help her. Together they tried to keep the mother from drinking. The teacher called several times, and had the mother come to the school, where she tried to impress her, telling her how unhappy she was making her child. Later on, work was found for mother and daughter in the same factory. By that time (this was after two years) the mother had given up drinking entirely. Their united earnings permit them to keep a decent home. This had its effect on the father, who married the mother, had the girl legitimized and, at least on working days, shuns the inn.

In another case of a small girl in very bad health, the teacher found out that she, a paralyzed sister, and a small brother lived with the widowed father who cooked a soup on Sundays—otherwise they never had warm food. The child was taught in school to prepare simple meals, the father was persuaded to let her cook in the evening, the little boy was placed in a kindergarten for the day and the paralyzed sister, who could use her hands, was provided with work from the trade school.

Matild remained three years in the school, where she was placed by the probation officer on account of some delinquency. We had to interfere on two occasions so that she would not be expelled from the apprentice-class because of dealings with boys. Several times she had run away. The teacher found that at the bottom of all the trouble was her father, an embittered, alcoholic invalid, who hated the girl because she could not earn money for him "by whatever means"—as he said. He

beat her and deprived her of the simplest pleasures, even a walk on a Sunday. Once invited to the school, he used to turn up whenever he liked and was very belligerent. At last the teacher succeeded in persuading him to permit a school-mate of Matild to pass her Sunday afternoons with her. She encouraged the Junior Red Cross group to help Matild to behave. The kindest hearted Juniors took her under their protection. Slowly Matild changed and became industrious. When she finished her probation, one of the ex-Juniors procured her work in the factory where she was engaged so as to keep an eye on her. Matild is very able, she earns well, finds pleasure in keeping her home in order. Her father is proud of her and thankful that she assists him. The teacher continues to call and finds a harmonious family-life.

These examples are taken at random from the reports of our workers. We could mention many other cases, not less typical, to prove that, in the absence of a special organization of case workers, every person engaged in whatever capacity in public welfare work has to become a case worker herself, though her paid professional work may only include teaching, or distribution of food, or attendance in a dispensary or settlement. This means that every worker suffers from great pressure of work, yet it cannot be avoided and is accepted with remarkable self-sacrifice as the only way of meeting the many problems until a special organization for case work can be established.

Yet there are a few things that we Hungarian welfare workers have learned in these years of hard experience:

First, that we need general case workers, not specialized ones. One person alone should be in charge and deal with the family to be assisted. The specialized workers may have to assist her, but should not visit the family. She must be in touch with the different institutions with which the family is in contact, such as school, dispensary, or settlement, and should superintend those instructions which have to be carried out outside the different institutions. We feel that this is essential, not only because it is more economical and prevents overlapping, but because a second worker who deals directly with the family diminishes the influence of the first without gaining it herself. A good case worker must possess the entire confidence of the family and this confidence cannot be divided among several persons.

Our second conviction is the fruit of this

emergency work of ours which has now lasted for years and it is not less important than the first: When at last we shall have a staff of general case workers, great changes must take place in the training of every person whose profession puts him in touch with the groups in need of public assistance. Whether it is a judge, a teacher, or an employee in public service who deals with the poor, he must learn to know his clients as

intimately as we know our pupils and their surroundings. Case work should be part of the curriculum of their studies. As assistants of the professional case worker, they should accompany her in her visits during a certain period. Only when they have learned through their own experience the effects of life on human nature will they be ready to work with and for suffering mankind.

CASE WORK IN ENGLAND

MISS K. D. LAWRENCE

Member of the Council of the London Charity Organisation Society

THERE is evidence of a certain impression abroad that case work is less necessary than it was formerly, and that it is being practiced less and less, while other methods of relief increase and take its place; in other words, that mass-production has superseded handicraft in social as in industrial work.

It is the object of this article to consider what the place and purpose of case work has become in our days.

In looking back over thirty years of charity organization development and in trying to reduce the retrospect to a broad and simplified statement, one salient point appears: Formerly, applicants for relief were roughly classified under two heads—those who could be helped by charitable aid, and those who must be left to the Poor Law. Now, through the multiplication of sources of statutory public assistance, the issue is very much more complicated and in many respects more hopeful for, whatever view one takes of the effect of the social legislation of recent years on the lives of the people, it is evident that this legislation must profoundly affect the case work of voluntary charitable societies.

From the point of view of the charity organization society, "case work" has a very clear meaning, but it is a wide term and is apt to be loosely used as a synonym for all kinds of relief in distress. It may be defined here as help given after verified enquiry, on certain agreed principles, and carefully recorded. We believe that the technique of case work, its records, and its

psychology have been carefully studied in America by thoroughly trained workers consciously striving after the most efficient methods. In England, case work is largely done by volunteers, not all fully trained, not always conscious of method, perhaps not eminently efficient in certain respects. It is on their work, directed and supported as it is by fully trained professional leaders, that the case work we have to consider is based, and it is hoped to show that we still do a great amount of it, and why.

The old distinction between those applicants who should or should not be helped by the Poor Law still exists. To the Poor Law we leave cases of chronic poverty arising from want of character, unemployability, general degradation, and "unhelpableness." Where, as in some notorious instances, outdoor relief is at present being very freely given by the Poor Law Guardians with consequent demoralization, we can but wait for a change of policy and can attempt little case work meanwhile. But in the great majority of boroughs this unhappy state of things does not prevail and we can and do carry on case work in co-operation with the Poor Law, though the terms of co-operation are seldom definitely laid down and consist rather in friendly interchange of information and in referring cases than in any official relations.

This leaves a great mass of needs to be dealt with either by voluntary charity or by such sources of relief as army pensions, sickness and disablement benefit, old age pensions, unemployment benefit, or pensions for

widows with children. Few families are without one or another of these resources in times of trouble, and there are also a large number of charitable agencies dealing with special needs such as sickness, convalescent care, ex-soldiers out of work, and numbers of other forms of distress.

Still the demand for case work does not slacken and, looking backward, its power for usefulness seems to have increased. Why? Because it is the element that makes all the other sources of relief fruitful, and it does it mainly by friendly, personal intercourse. This is inevitably an incomplete statement and too limited and positive in expression, but a better formula is hard to find and must be sought in the notes on cases that follow.

Case work may not always be needed, but when it is the applicant will not be able to rise above his misfortune without it. Here are some typical, not exceptional examples, chosen from a number of case papers that have been recently examined for another purpose.

Jane, 16, came under the care of the tuberculosis officer of her borough. Her father and another child had died of phthisis; the mother, a woman of poor background, had lived with and later married another man and had more children. The stepfather of our applicant was a kindly fellow, rather given to bouts of drink, and a little lost through having had to give up steady work because of an accident. The woman had made him join her in a green-grocery stall; they owned a horse and lived in a very small, three-roomed house which was grossly over-crowded by the parents and the six children.

It was found that Jane was not suffering from tuberculosis though she was in very poor health, with delicate lungs and almost certain to contract the disease if she stayed where she was, keeping house for the family while her mother and stepfather ran the business. As she was ineligible for treatment under the public tuberculosis authority, she was referred to the Charity Organisation Society for help. The Charity Organisation Society found a convalescent home, not too large, where Jane had opportunities for learning something of housework and where the matron took a personal interest in her. The stepfather reluctantly promised to pay 7 shillings a week during her stay and kept his promise. The girl was away six months and became a different creature through fresh air, rest, and good food. The Charity Organisation Committee were successful in finding her a situation to go to within a short journey of her home where she could be trained by an older servant. After a year she is still in the same place and is liked and found satisfactory, and she writes very happy letters about the kindness she has met with and her pleasure at finding the work within her powers.

This is not a case in which a whole family have been raised in position or moved from a very bad

home to better surroundings. They were not a class of tenant that is generally welcomed, and their choice is limited by their needing a stable for the horse. They continue to live an over-crowded and unsatisfactory life, all depending on the earnings of the vegetable stall. The children are brought up roughly, though not unkindly, their prospects far from bright in health or occupation. It was not possible to do more with this family, but it was possible to help Jane through her mother's well founded fears for her health and her stepfather's good feeling. Only a voluntary agency could do it and it could not be done without a great deal of personal effort—long interviews with the man before he consented to let Jane go; much correspondence and trouble before the right place could be found for her. Money alone would never have changed Jane from the suffering girl living in a squalid home where she had no place, no chance to learn, to the happy, healthy Jane of today with every hope of a useful life before her. As an object lesson she may help her younger sisters as she never could had she remained at home.

Another story is that of a good semi-skilled laborer who was referred to the Charity Organisation Society for work. He had married on leaving the army, spent his war gratuity quickly, gave up two or three jobs after a year or so at each because they were not quite good enough, and was careless, if not foolish, in conduct until he found himself out of employment with wife and children to keep. A long period of this made him bitter and difficult to deal with and for some time no opening could be discovered for him. At last work away from his neighborhood was secured for him by persistent effort on the part of a member of the Committee, and with a small amount of help he was enabled to take it up. He fully realized what the Committee had done for him and was keen to do his utmost to make good. Being a strong, competent man he should now do well.

In this case personal knowledge of the man and personal trouble and recommendation succeeded where the Labour Exchange failed. Unemployment benefit kept the home together, but left nothing over; case work saved the man from his growing discontent and demoralization, and so made the statutory help he had received eventually fruitful.

In another instance a middle-aged man applied for an expensive self-propelling chair. He had been long in hospital and had received much help from various sources, but was left incurably paralyzed in the legs. He was partly supported by his wife and children but time hung heavy on his hands for want of employment and change of air and scene. His references were not very good and the Committee hesitated. It then appeared that the applicant was clever with his hands and he thought he could make and sell toys if he had materials which were given, but this did not come to much. The Committee suggested boot-repairing as a more helpful craft and found a skilled workman to give lessons. This man reported that the applicant learned very quickly. After a time during which the teacher showed much kindness and helpfulness, the paralyzed man got a little business together and renewed his application for the chair, which was granted partly as a loan, together with other sums advanced for leather, etc. The cripple

showed extraordinary capacity and built up a very good business as a boot-seller and repairer. He has paid back by installments all that was asked of him and he is happy, busy, and prosperous. The fears as to his trustworthiness and sobriety have gradually disappeared.

This is a brief account of a long piece of case work, in which the energy and intelligence of the man have been drawn out and turned to account first, and the costly chair granted later, after proof of his willingness to work. It has been in all respects satisfactory, the only possible regret being that the man says he is now so busy that he rarely has time to go out in his chair! All the previous help had left him pining and restless, a source of unhappiness to himself and others. The whole family have benefited immensely by his success.

Another case ran to such great length that only a brief summary can be given. John W— was in a hospital and later a sanatorium suffering from tuberculous abscesses in the neck. His wife was in a very nervous, broken state and the three children were constantly ill. A hospital referred the family to the C. O. S. who kept the home together for a time by supplementing the man's sickness benefit. Later the Poor Law helped. It appeared that he could never hope to be well in the city and after great effort a place was found for him as a gardener in the country. This he kept during the war though he had repeated illnesses when his wife had to do the work as well as she could, until more permanent employment was secured as store keeper in an asylum in the neighborhood. He had attacks of pain and numerous operations with other misfortunes including the loss of an eye from an accident. His wife was frequently ill and all the children have been delicate, but they have always been courageous, hopeful, and united. The older children (there are now six) are working and they have a good home.

This is a case which could only have been brought to a successful end by the remarkable patience and energy of the man and wife through years of difficulty supported by the unflinching help of a voluntary society which met every new trouble as it arose. Such work cannot be done without personal knowledge and effort. It is constructive and it takes advantage of every point of character on which it is possible to build. It fills up gaps where other forms of relief either cannot be applied, or have done their duty and come to an end. It can never be obsolete, and it is infinitely more valuable than it was because, as other sources of help have increased, the pity and the waste of carry-

ing a case just so far and no farther is more and more apparent. The sick bread-winner goes to the hospital, has sick benefit, and is sent for convalescent treatment by his approved society; meanwhile his wife and children live on a very narrow income. Clothes and other necessities become worn out and the family standard is lowered. The man worries and returns to work too soon, with consequent breakdown. This is a commonplace story, constantly repeated. Case work supplements the hospital, the sick pay, and the convalescent treatment either by a weekly allowance or by help which none of the other agencies has power to give, and so makes their aid adequate and successful.

This kind of case work is continually in demand and continually going on and it is undertaken more hopefully and adventurously than in former days because the whole weight of a family falls so much less heavily on the charity of the public than formerly. A social worker old enough to remember the period of depression that followed the South African War early in the century cannot but contrast conditions in London then with those after the Great War. The events cannot be compared; the small war touched a comparatively tiny number of men, but there was much unemployment and distress when it was over and the resources (of relief) were so infinitely less that at times one felt almost in despair over the able-bodied man out of work, who had to be referred to the Poor Law because charitable help could not be raised for him. We had a very true and well founded fear then of subsidizing him. Now he has been a contributor to his unemployment insurance and notwithstanding the vastness of the problem there cannot be the same weight of despair. There are no doubt other dangers; independence, industry, and thrift have many insidious enemies, the chief being the spirit that would do away with all distress, irrespective of its origin, by legislation. Against this "mass production" view, case work may seem but a feeble barrier; nevertheless the spirit of case work in its widest and fullest sense is our first line of defence, and case work is being actively carried on under the changed conditions of today in England.

A GERMAN INTERPRETATION OF CASE WORK IN AMERICA

FRANCES TAUSSIG

Executive Director, Jewish Social Service Association, New York City

FREIE Wohlfahrtspflege is the monthly journal of a league of social agencies operating in Germany under voluntary auspices. In it are brought together reports of the social work activities of such organizations as the German Evangelical church, the Christian labor group, the United Jewish organizations, the German Red Cross, private health agencies, and those operating for the welfare of the aged. The monthly table of contents includes such titles as "Catholic work in the rural community"; "Is the family the socio-pedagogical objective of social work?" "Convalescent care, school, and the family"; "The laws combating sexual diseases, discussed from the point of view of private social work"; "Social work as a profession, and woman," "The relation between public and private social work."

In the issue of February, 1927, Dr. Hans Scherpner of Frankfurt-am-Main, publishes the first of a series of articles on social case work as it has been developed in the United States—the one country, in his opinion, in which suffering during the war and its consequences were so slight as to make such a development possible. His interpretation of our "methods of individualizing social work" reveals the present situation in Germany where since the war more and more new groups have presented themselves for care, and where the volume of social work has been so great as to prevent anything but the faintest realization of the principle of "individualization." Instead, Germany has been busy with the problems of organization multiplied by the war and the disastrous economic condition left in its wake.

Until now, there has been no clear presentation in Germany of American case work. Dr. Alice Salomon, in her monograph *Soziale Diagnose* published in Berlin in 1926, has drawn freely upon Miss Richmond's *Social Diagnosis*, as upon other American sources; but, in omitting case material, Dr. Scherpner believes that she has limited the effectiveness of her work to such

an extent that it can have little influence in spreading the gospel of case work in Germany. In order that he himself may achieve clarity in this undertaking, Dr. Scherpner first presents a complete and faithful translation of an American case study—that of John Smith, No. 6 of Series I of the Judge Baker Foundation case studies, published in 1922. Not wishing to present the case work method as one which guarantees successful treatment, Dr. Scherpner has chosen an instance of its implication in which long and patient effort has failed of ultimate results, but throughout which the process of self-criticism is apparent. With this material as a background, Dr. Scherpner proceeds to present the methods, objectives, and ideals of case work as it is practiced in America, with the purpose of determining the possibility of its adaptation to the existing situation in Germany.

Throughout the series, he shows complete familiarity with the literature of American social work. His foot-notes contain references to and excerpts from all of Miss Richmond's works, Karl de Schweinitz' *Art of Helping People Out of Trouble*, reports of the Public Education Association, writings of Grace Abbott, J. L. Gillin, Devine, Watson, the recent work of the psychiatric group, and *THE FAMILY*. He quotes largely from German sources as well.

The second article is devoted to an interesting interpretation of the objectives of our social case work. These, Dr. Scherpner believes, are largely determined by the immigrant character of our population, of which, in 1910, 14.7 per cent were foreign born. Thousands of immigrants are still pouring in each year from every country of the world, in spite of the restrictions of the last decade. Large numbers of our public schools must teach English to their pupils before any educational program can become effective. All the institutions which concern themselves with the cultural, educational, and religious welfare of our people are forced to recognize before all else, the ne-

cessity of adjustment—of groups widely varying in racial background and cultural level—to conditions of American life.

In this universal process of Americanization, Dr. Scherpner sees the formulation and insistence on a set of uniform, minimum, social, ethical and patriotic standards, which strike the foreigner as amazing in this "Land of the Free."

It appears clear to Dr. Scherpner that social work in America is influenced in its objectives by the same conception of values which produces this uniformity of "niveau." Its participation in the work of Americanization is determined by the necessity of helping the individual out of his difficulties of adjustment. The facts of immigration, again, give new character to these troubles. Nowhere in Germany, for example, except in a lesser degree in families emigrating from rural districts to the cities, is there anything comparable to the complications of relationship between parents and children in our immigrant families. Altogether Dr. Scherpner sees immigration so important in determining the character of our social case work that he traces to its source in the problems of immigration, the concept of adjustment which is today used in every definition of the content of social work.

It is in the American community of objective and agreement on the importance of what we call Americanization, that Dr. Scherpner sees the reason for the freer and more intensive development in America of the whole business of social case work. In Germany each group has its own individual *Weltanschauung* and objective, and competition between groups has not produced a fertile field for development of standards or methods.

As to the form and method of our social work, Dr. Scherpner again sees them determined by the content of our American ideals. While questioning the fundamental meaning of some of the repeated protestations which he finds in American social work literature of our underlying democratic philosophy, he does find our work permeated by an insistent belief in the value of the individual which is typically American. Through Miss Richmond, he sees the concept of respect for personality traced in its two aspects: that of the individual as an

independent being, whose freedom is not to be violated even to help him; and that of the interdependent individual, living in a participating relation to his whole environment. He sees objectives in our social case work which are common with those of social reform, education, applied psychology, and religion, but distinguished from them by approach and in a method which is based on individual differences in people. He demonstrates through the case of John Smith (which he has translated and presented in the beginning of the series) the client of social case work as the individual as he is made—by his heredity, his environment, his education, and his human intercourse—into a personality.

From this conception of the personality as the sum of an individual's social relationships, he finds that case work, in contrast with the various fields of social reform, has to work with the individual not only through the attempt to influence him directly, but through knowledge and use of the indissoluble relationship between him and all the factors in his environment.

Having thus made clear his conception of the objectives, Dr. Scherpner proceeds with his analysis of the methods of case work as it is practiced in the United States.

The endeavor to organize life rationally, which is so characteristic of Americans, is manifested also in their handling of social work. Thorough planning, the most intensive exploitation of all available resources, and a constant critical control are the three characteristics of American case work.

The first step is to work out a precise analysis of the circumstances of the individual who presents the particular problem of social distress, to be studied. To use the language of bankers, a kind of balance sheet has to be drawn of the assets and liabilities of the case. In the very first interview of a client, a thorough examination is conducted, the case worker even considering it essential, for her own better knowledge; to obtain some idea of the heredity of the client; for example, she may inquire concerning his parents' history prior to their marriage, their education, the books they read, the kind of work the mother was engaged in before she married. Furthermore, the environment of the home, the kind of neighborhood, and the

physical character of the house is gone into to see whether any external factor has contributed to the problem. A plan, if even only a tentative one which may later be revised or discarded, must be the goal even of the first interview.

All of this implies of course that the social worker has a deep knowledge of all possible maladjustments of social relationships and has the capacity for applying her knowledge to the needs of individual cases. The case worker must have self-control. She may never act impulsively. She must be capable of a critical attitude when it comes to studying her material. The situation must be viewed in all its aspects.

Although the practice of psychoanalysis is prevalent in America, and its influence is felt in social case work in America, its terminology is not much in evidence in the cases which have been studied. Experimental psychological methods such as intelligence tests are recognized as having limitations in helping the worker form a correct judgment of the individual. The antipathy against basing conclusions on mere theories and against using stock terminology finds its best expression in the Judge Baker Foundation case study which is presented in the first article. It is not so very long ago that a person like John Smith, the subject of the study, would have been sized up by the social worker as pathological, as a degenerate, a moral imbecile or born criminal. But in the case work of today these terms have little significance and are of no assistance in the constructive handling of the case. The constant effort is to become acquainted with the positive, constructive factors in the make-up of the client, if the principles of prevention and cure are to be discovered.

Naturally the average service in the United States does not come up to the high standard which is the aim of the leading case work organizations. However, the criteria according to which not only social service organizations but also schools, courts, police and other authorities are judged (according to Dr. Scherpner) are these methods of individual treatment which are the conditions of efficient social case work—a good system as basis, an intensive thoroughness of treatment, and a critical attitude.

Next Dr. Scherpner discusses the equipment with which the social workers must be provided, if these methods of individual service are to be carried through. Specialized professional education for social service was originally given only by special schools. Now it is carried on more and more by the universities as graduate study. But special schools, with only a few exceptions, require as a condition of admission several years of college work and many even a Bachelor's Degree (B.A.).

In view of the fact that all guiding principles of social service are derived empirically through case work from original factual material, the students acquire insight, as they go along, into the problems and the possibilities of practical work. But even if much stress is laid on the methods of training, we must not get the idea that the technical side is over-valued in America. Results in applying the methods that have been taught depend primarily on the personality of the case worker. She must have imaginative sympathy and personal devotion; she must identify herself with the case, otherwise she will not be able to understand the emotional significance of the experience of the clients. On the other hand she must remain impartial and objective, and therefore the identification with the case must be a mechanism under control. The case worker needs the assistance of other experts—the physician, the psychiatrist, the psychologist. To create an effectual co-operation of all these participants in the case work process is one of the chief tasks of the supervisor; staff conferences and regular discussions between the case workers help to bring about this co-operation. The recent organization of "child guidance clinics" and "habit clinics" particularly foster the co-operation between organizations.

It was not accidental that the speedy and successful development of the methods of individual service took place at a period of great economic prosperity. The student from abroad is impressed by the cost involved in carrying on case work. Dr. Scherpner has formed the impression that the average salaries of case workers are a little higher than those of teachers of high schools. (Would that this were true!)

The influence of the prosperous environ-

ment in which social case work has been developed in America is likewise manifested in the material standard of living which it seeks to uphold. Surprise is expressed over the inclusion in budgets which have been examined of such items as newspapers, lodge dues, carfares and telephone, recreation, and insurance. Even the theoretical maintenance of such a standard—which is regarded as hardly a practical possibility—is thought to be significant. Likewise is the fact that, unlike social work in Germany, American effort is not confined to the clientele in economic distress, but is free to concern itself with those troubles resulting from maladjustments to social or economic environment.

The fourth essay is concerned with the possibility of developing the social case work method in Germany where, until now, social work as a developing field of work has been discussed mainly on its organization side. Until the social point of view is accepted, rather than the financial one, a clear conception of the actual work which Germany needs will not be possible; organization will proceed, as now, through broad general classifications rather than through insight into the definite character of the need itself. The individualization which Dr. Scherpner recognizes as the essential principle of social case work itself is equally important in determining the kind of social work which is to be developed.

The social worker himself can be of little assistance in making these new ideas effective. He has neither the time nor the training which would make him articulate with reference to the method and content of his work. His experience has not been built up through the study of case material which aims at a better understanding of human problems. Without real individualization, it will be impossible to give social work in Germany the fresh start which it has needed since its setback through the war. No case work methods can be developed there until enough actual case material has been gathered to make possible the study of treatment through the patient, tenacious, careful interpretation of experience. Such methods as do exist have been adopted intuitively and have not been tested by experimentation. If because of the fundamental, underlying differences imitation can be avoided, much is

to be gained for German social work through comparison with the experience of the American case worker.

Many difficulties will lie in the way of the adaptation of the case work method to social work in Germany. The first of these is the influence of industrial conditions. Social work done under public auspices in Germany cannot choose its clientele. With certain exceptions it has to help all of the needy and is not allowed to limit its capacity in order to make its work effective. Public social agencies can never work intensively with a few at the expense of the many. It is well known that most of the public organizations in Germany cover far too large districts and burden their workers with too great case loads, with a consequent inevitable diminution in quality of work.

Dr. Scherpner urges this personal work as actually the kernel of all social work; economies when necessary should be made in other ways and not through a decreased social work personnel or through increases in the volume of its work. While some encouraging steps have been taken by the public agencies, the mass of work left with them by the recent industrial depression is discouraging to progress, and it remains clear that the responsibility for refinement of case work method lies with the private social agencies. While these are not free from the influence of industrial conditions, they are more able than the public agencies to restrict their activities to the amount of work for which they have resources.

Dr. Scherpner calls attention to the fact that even the public organizations can improve their service in those types of agencies where there is no definite responsibility to a whole group which is entitled to assistance. For example, in the public child care and health agencies, there are always opportunities to work intensively with a few cases in order to develop technique. He points out that American experience has proved that, when intake is limited for the purpose of improving standards, the result has usually been a general improvement in standards in the whole work.

A second difficulty in the way of any attempt to establish case work methods in Germany is the lack of workers who are equipped with the necessary training to do

such work, which demands much greater qualifications in knowledge and skill than the work which is now being done. Unfortunately in this professional development comparatively little assistance can be expected from the schools in which social work is taught, because of fundamental errors in the German system of training.

During the two years of the training period, during all of which practical work is done, the German schools aim to impart not only that fundamental knowledge which forms the background of social work, but also definitely specialized vocational training. The academic aspect of social work training, which has been developed in America, is entirely lacking. Dr. Scherpner believes that to become vehicles of a new conception of the objectives and methods of social work, the German schools must relinquish—at least in part—the job of imparting practical knowledge which has formed almost their entire concern and give themselves to equipping the potential social worker with the spirit, the broad academic background, and even the knowledge of the objectives of a profession. This is made even more difficult through the fact that since graduates of the schools are almost entirely taken over by the public agencies, final examinations assume great importance and the workers in training feel the responsibility for acquaintance with an enormous mass of detailed information, without which they cannot embark on the field of social work. In a study of 2,866 German social workers, only 13 were found who were college graduates. With little background and nothing but the most pragmatic preparation for the job, the worker is seldom equipped through training with the ability to gather information concerning the situation, to study and interpret information, or to decide about treatment.

It is interesting to learn from Dr. Scherpner's observation that those college graduates who are interested in social work are at once pressed into administrative responsibility and but seldom find their jobs in day-by-day work with individuals. He pleads that more college graduates be placed in the field in order that their experience may be used in the effort to develop pioneers in methods of social work.

A further difficulty is presented by the bureaucracy of social work in Germany. The organization is planned and handed down from the top instead of being allowed to develop out of the individual needs of the community which it is to serve. The dangers of democracy are not absent even for private social work in Germany. Bad times have piled up problems; groups have competed with one another and with the public in the organization of new work and given themselves to problems of organization rather than to the development of methods of individual work. Dr. Scherpner urges that private initiative keep itself free to recognize new social work problems early in their development and to create independent experimental efforts through which methods of solution may be arrived at.

All the obstacles in the way of development of case work methods in Germany are inherent in the general situation of German social work. While there is little hope of an early change in this situation, the point has been reached in several instances from which new developments may start. Dr. Scherpner urges that advantage be taken of each of these possibilities to introduce the case work method patterned on the American model, to be developed in a form adapted to specific German conditions.

BOOK REVIEWS

HANDBOOK FOR IMMIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES: Marian Schibsy. Foreign Language Information Service, 222 Fourth Avenue, New York.

This handbook is a most useful guide to prospective immigrants and if each person coming to the United States could be induced to read at least the first part there would be fewer tragedies and less misfortune among those who are about to

start on the long journey in search of the "new world." The prospective immigrants are given correct and up-to-date information about the intricate workings of the present immigration law. The handbook clearly defines a quota and a non-quota immigrant and explains what classes of immigrants have the right to apply for a visa in the preferred class. One whole chapter is devoted to the explanation of causes for exclusion from ad-

mission to the U. S. A. and a valuable warning is given to all those who expect to migrate to the United States, namely, that no one should make any important preparations for his journey till after he has obtained an immigration visa from the American Consul.

A great effort has been made by the compiler of the handbook not to overlook even the smallest details which might be encountered by the traveler en route. An effort is also made to give as much information as possible about the conditions here regarding employment, labor, and farming.

The necessity of learning English is stressed, the procedure of naturalization is explained, and some information is given as to the history and government of the United States.

The handbook also includes a list of certain nationality organizations in New York City. It would have been of great value to the immigrant if the handbook had included also a list of those organizations in other cities which are particularly equipped to help the foreign-born in their many problems, such as for instance, the Americanization Bureau of Wilmington, Del., the International Institutes in different cities, the Immigrants' Protective League of Chicago, and so on.

The Foreign Language Information Service is at present working on the translation of this handbook into foreign languages and will then make it available to those who are unfamiliar with the English language.

ELISABETH G. NIEWIADOMSKY

DOES PROHIBITION WORK? Martha Bensley Bruère. Harper, N. Y., 1927, 329 pp.

Does prohibition work? Surely this is an important question often answered glibly in accordance with personal opinion or preference and without any real knowledge of the situation. And how elusive are the facts! Even were it possible to compare accurately the use and effect of alcoholic liquor today with its use and effect in pre-prohibition days, there would still remain the question as to what the situation would have been today if there had been no prohibition legislation.

Recognizing the importance of prohibition from the point of view of neighborhood life, and responding to the challenge of Dr. Haven Emerson that social workers speak out on the drink question, the National Federation of Settlements in the spring of 1926 appointed "a committee to assemble authoritative information of such changes in family life as may be credited or discredited to the enactment of the 18th amendment." *Does Prohibition Work?* is the report to the committee by Martha Bensley Bruère, who directed the study.

No statistics are presented. Indeed Mrs. Bruère states frankly that she soon threw away the ques-

tionnaire with which she had armed herself in preparing to make the study.

The opinion and experience of competent social workers is the raw material of the book, but Mrs. Bruère and her staff have so correlated and interpreted the contributions of many individuals that the whole is far more significant than the mere sum of its parts. The social workers who were consulted provide the intimate, close-up, local view. Mrs. Bruère and associates, standing back, present the broad sweeps and trends of prohibition as a national measure. Most interesting is their finding as to the reaction to prohibition by groups having established habits of drink. If a man's reaction to a situation depends largely upon what he was to start with, plus what he has been up against, it is not surprising that some groups react more favorably to prohibition than do others. And one ghost is laid. Every one knows the story about that friend of mine who, upon inquiring where he could get a drink, was told of a single shop in the whole town at which it could not be secured. That story means nothing. It circulates at par in dry as well as in wet communities.

Mrs. Bruère's analysis and interpretation of facts is of value to every one, who, without bias, is seeking to answer for himself the question, does prohibition work? It has a particular claim upon the attention of social workers who, whether they like it or not, occupy a post of vantage in observing the result of a great experiment in social legislation and cannot evade their responsibility for bearing witness.

STOCKTON RAYMOND

CORRESPONDENCE

Berlin, Germany

TO THE EDITOR:

Permit me to comment on the article by Bruno Lasker on The Unification of Child Welfare in Germany, in your issue for November.

We are pleased to find so comprehensive and so favorable a report concerning our work in an American periodical. It illustrates once more how, in the movements to serve youth and its welfare, national boundaries disappear and each country can learn from the other.

My request for space to comment on the excellent article of Mr. Lasker, which indicates considerable study of our German situation, is because nevertheless it contains several errors which your readers may be interested to see corrected.

(1) To begin with what Mr. Lasker himself calls (on p. 227) the "biggest problem," namely the financial difficulty, he says that it prohibits the employment of adequately competent workers. Moreover, he states that the salaried personnel of child welfare organizations are often hired without having had a thorough vocational training, and that "apart from a few private schools for training

women social workers, there are no schools of social work." This overlooks the fact that we have in Germany about 36 schools for women and now also several such schools for men. The older schools for women have been in existence for over twenty years. The head of one of them is Dr. Alice Salomon who is well known in the United States.

About one-fourth of the 35 or 36 schools for women are supported by state or city; the others by voluntary contributions—but not by individuals or small committees but by very large, mostly denominational, national leagues, and all of them with state or municipal subventions. But the most important fact is that all of these institutions are subject to state regulation and control. The examinations are prescribed by state regulations and the requirements also are regulated by the authorities. Probably about one thousand students graduate from these schools annually after passing the state examinations. There are now active in social work in Germany some thirteen thousand women of whom not less than 66 per cent possess the state certificate. In this connection social work is used in the narrow sense of social welfare, not including related professions in education and public health which have their separate schools and organizations; such also as kindergarten teachers, executives of children's homes, club leaders and assistants in denominational parish activities.

(2) It can hardly be maintained today that, as Mr. Lasker says, voluntary work plays an important part in the child welfare bureaus. He himself shows that the lady volunteer, largely owing to the loss of fortunes and the resultant necessity to accept paid work, has almost disappeared in Germany. The bulk of the work is done by vocationally trained workers. There is probably not a child welfare bureau left that employs others. The larger voluntary agencies likewise almost exclusively employ trained persons.

May I also comment on one or two lesser points?

(3) It is true that the central organization of the German organized youth associations, namely the National Committee of German Youth Organizations, is both as regards premises and activities in close contact with our German Archive for the Welfare of Youth—which in a sense may rightly be compared with the American Children's Bureau. But the National Committee is in no way a "revolutionary" organization; for its main purpose is to serve the youth organizations of all shades, including the most conservative. The expression "revolutionary" might be misunderstood, since only relatively very small groups can rightly be termed revolutionary in political or cultural aims.

(4) The statement that in the supervision of children placed with families in the country only men are employed would be received with astonishment in Germany. For, indeed, this function is

filled for the most part by the women workers of the rural welfare bureaus. Only in a few districts are male teachers and other voluntary workers used alongside these special workers in the task of supervision.

(5) Lastly, our vocational guidance bureaus are organized quite separate from the child welfare bureaus. For, because of the statutes under which they function, they are connected with the labor exchanges and, moreover, have need of a personnel of very different training. Of course, they always work in close contact with the bureaus.

DR. MENDE

*For the German Archive for the
Welfare of Youth*

TO THE EDITOR:

Of course, Dr. Mende's corrections are authoritative. When I wrote the article I did not have Dr. Salomon's excellent compendium on social work training *Die Ausbildung zum sozialen Beruf* (Carl Heymann's Verlag, Berlin, 1927) which describes the variety of training centers that have recently come into existence. Nevertheless, it is true—for example, I have a letter from the director of one of the state bureaus of child welfare confirming the general accuracy of my observations—that in many places workers have received such training as it was possible to give them after they were employed. In the past, the number graduated from Dr. Salomon's and the other bona fide social work schools never was large and, in fact, comprised only a fraction of those holding salaried positions.

The relative importance of voluntary assistance no doubt varies considerably from place to place; possibly some of the new volunteer activities which I had in mind, being so different from the old, both in type of activity and type of worker, are not officially counted as part of the picture but rather as coöperating outside participation. That would account for the contrast between my information—in the city of Hamburg, for example—and Dr. Mende's categorical denial.

Of course, the national federation of youth is not revolutionary; the significant fact which I desired to bring out was that this representative central organization of a movement which started out some years ago in the temper of flaming revolt against many cultural, political, and educational conventions, has become so far domesticated as to occupy an office in the government department whose primary function it is to ensure law and order.

I spoke of former teachers (male), as sometimes employed in the supervision of outplaced children; what I did not make clear was that I had in mind city children placed out in the country, often a very long way from the bureau headquarters and difficult to reach. I was not speaking of the rural bureaus and their work.